634 Badjawa is the center of Ngada.
Boawai is the center of Nageh.

622 Kraeng Ngambut is the successor to the dead Radja of Mangegarai, but has not yet been installed.

631 In Flores there are many kapitanschappen, for example, there are two in the town of Ende. Other regions may be divided into kapitanschappen under kapitan, or into landschappen under more important rulers.

124 In general I did not get much information from him. I will see Pastor Raats, a member of parliament from Flores. Perhaps the radjas who are here now are going on the same ship to Ende. And Soumokil will send a cable to Papakai, a friend of his and possibly a member of parliament or something similar.

Flores: Before I left Makassar on December 12, three days late because of a ship strike and general irregularity of KPM, I went to see Pastor Raats, a member of the parliament from Flores. He is Dutch. He gave me some information about locations and general facts concerning Flores, but I did not learn anything very specific from him.

634 Following this we spent a wasted day and then on Monday, at 5 P.M., we sailed on a small ship "Kaimana". Most of the Flores radjas who had been in Makassar for a radja conference were on board this ship. The Sikka radja, Dom Tomas da Silva, appeared to be a spoiled and rather impolite person similar to the Arompone. He had a large mustache and looked like a Black Portuguese. I saw a photo of him in Levij's office and will receive a copy later. It shows him in a remarkable satin moujik blouse of black and with a Portuguese gold helmet. He is shown standing between two long upright elephant tusks.
634 He is decked out with gold stuff. He appears to
578 be vain and could be troublesome, but I heard

632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.
B
103 Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a
115 kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
●622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of
[173] these. Thus about seven generations are accounted for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

632 The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
565 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
614 suku there are two families which are noble and therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

614 R They did
582 say, however, that Mohammedanism is tending to
178 break down this suku exogamy. Here in Roworeke, however, the old adat is still strong and the exogamous rule still holds. The young people who have gone to school are beginning to rebel, but the elders remain strong and hold to the adat.

791 I asked about religion and they said that at
797 least fifty per cent of the people here are pagan. Most of the rest are Christian, although there are a few Mohammedans. The picture is the familiar one of the younger generation becoming Christian while the older generation remains pagan.

565 If I can believe the story about the nobility,
632 it looks as if there are about ten noble fami-
614 lies eligible to the kapitanschap in all Rewarangga, because there are five suku and about two families of this nobility to each suku.

632 Then I got onto the subject of the officers. In the kapitanschap there is the kapitan, and he is assisted by a scribe, a mandur and an oppas. Evidently these are a secretary, a sort of public works man, and a messenger--sheriff.

622 In the kampong the chief is the kepala kampong,
565 the ata nggaeh nua (ata nggaeh itself is a term
624 for noble). Some of these belong to the nobility and others not (I must find out more about this). The assistant to the kepala kampong is the oro kuni. Then tere are four mosa laki, which seems to them to be the equivalent to the tuan tanah elsewhere. One of these is the main adat chief (thus exactly like the tuan tanah) and he is called the mosa laki mere, or mosa laki pu'u (pu'u is the term for clan, and I must check on this as it may be a survival of a purely genealogical localization of clans in a single kampong). He may also be called merely by the term laki pu'u. The three other mosa laki are: the giri tumba,
624 the ndeto au, and the sikesani. The giri tumba

R

624 in the Lio mountain kampongs is called the wiwiria lama lewa, or, as van Suchtelen[1] says, "big mouth long tongue". He is like a talking chief.

632 The kapitan and the kepala kampong (as well
622 as the mandur of the kapitan, who on second
624 thought may prove to be a kind of assistant
614 kapitan; and the oro kuni) are clearly administrative officers, and are not "adat chiefs." The true adat chief is the mosa laki mere (as well as the other three mosa laki). This indicates that the kapitan and the kepala kampong, territorial chiefs, are of a later date, and the old chief was the tuan tanah or mosa laki mere. Since the latter is also called laki pu'u, and pu'u means suku, it looks as though before the territorial organization, they had only localized clans. Thus they have the dual division of chiefs into the administration--territory and into the adat--genealogical. Going on, I found
693 excellent substantiation of this in that a big
632 case, involving murder or big theft, etc., for
624 example the case in which the Dutch government
614 was interested (a law case, as it were) is judged
622 by the kapitan with the assistance of the four kepala kampong chosen for him for that case. In a small case, however, involving adat, judgment is made only within the kampong (thus adat cases involve the kampong, which comes before the clan, I think). And the judges are the mosa laki mere, acting as chairman, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the sike sani. It looks as though the old localized clans were ruled by this quadrivirate. And, these four are completely hereditary. Thus even in succession they have the genealogical principle. It comes out clearly in these four adat chiefs. I must find out from which suku these officers come.

614 I asked about the present localization of the suku, and they seemed to agree that the suku are still largely settled in certain clusters. They

[1] [See p.90 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 13--Analyst]

R

764 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always
565 buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 There is a mission school here in the kampong.
[797] The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the
178 men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also
[302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women,
286 and many people are presently weaving on back bar
531 looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and
124 I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

● 622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 Also I forgot to say that there were some re-
624 marks about how, in an adat case, where the four
622 mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may
565 "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

R

	My Spelling	Kapitan's spelling
632 13.	Pu'umbindi	Poeoe Mbindi
621 14.	Mbago	Mbgko (?)
15.	Pemodjera	Pemo Djera
16.	Volofeo	Wolo Feo
17.	Bu'ube'i	Boeoebei
18.	Sokopedji	Soko Pedji

The w and v are, or seem to be, separate, but the spelling here seems to indicate that they are the same. F, however, is separate. Of the eighteen, Roworeke and Worowai used to be (up until the Japanese time) together, but now they are separate kampongs. I wonder if this did not happen before so recently. Also the three (Vavoeü, Ratebedi, and Kekambero) were once one, named Rabu. This is still used evidently once in a while for their general area. We got onto the 624 matter of the mosa laki, and it develops that in- 632 deed there are the Big Four for the gemeente, and in addition there is a Little Four in each kampong. The Big Four, however, are also the Little Four of both Roworeke and Worowai. Thus the mosa laki mere of Rewarangga is also the mosa laki mere of both Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The giri tumba of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Roworeke. The ndeto au of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The sike sani of Rewarangga is also the sike sani of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The kampong combination is because Roworeke and Worowai were still one kampong until recently.

624 Each of the other sixteen kampongs has its own 622 Little Four. Also, each kampong of the eighteen has a kepala kampong or ata nggaeh nua, and his assistant, the oro kuni.

614 In each kampong there seems to be one suku

Ws.

511 as I see more of this country. This area is terribly poor and overcrowded, full of stones, and has little water. The girls and women have [312] to haul water for Leloba from the coast, which is three kilometers off. And there is little food in the town. They are really hungry.

164 Vatter told of great illnesses here, and I 511 can see many examples of this today. Sore eyes are terrible and probably caused by lack of vitamins. There are many children with large bellies, skin sores, etc. Nowhere before have I seen such misery in regard to mere existence. Last year, a priest told us later, there was a famine here. And now I can see how vital the old rainmaking and the practices of the tuan tanah must be here.

797 At the mission headquarters in Larantuka we 634 were told that it is hard for the mission to 661 make plans here, because every time they get an 423 improvement, for example, in the land system, 427 the radja comes in and seizes the best land. 624 Also the tuan tanah stands up against all changes, and he is a "chiseler" also. Thus if they have a project which brings acres of improved land, the bigwigs wait until the work is done on it and then take the best part for themselves. The local people thus lose their land and many have thus been forced to work on the radja's land or for other big men as sharecroppers. Evidently the common division here is one-fourth of the crop for the sharecropper. The priests seem to regard the tuan tanah, who is the ritual and adat leader, as the worst.

● 622 We had some gin with the priest and then went 159 to the house of the guru Roy. He was Vatter's[1] assistant, and his house is the biggest in the kampong. He could be the kepala kampong, but because he is a guru, he passed the post on to his younger brother. They belong to the Hurin suku, which is different from the usual thing,

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113—Analyst]

159 wherein the kepala kampong is a Kottang. This is
[622] all right according to adat, he says. The guru is an old fellow, sick with a cough. He was not there, and his daughter, who might be any age from eighteen to thirty, talked with us. She seems to be a queer type, and it is strange that she is not married. I get the idea there is some friction between her and her father. She had five years of schooling at the sisters' school in Larantuka. A son of the guru is in Makassar as a clerk (I think in a church office), and he married a Leloba girl recently. The guru
[582] married a woman from the same suku, but the daughter says this is all right as she was from Larantuka. If she were from any kampong behind the mountain, this would have been impossible. The house was adorned with holy pictures. The guru said he
[797] was converted in 1907, and as he is now perhaps
771 sixty, that was when he was about eighteen. There
178 are no more pagans in Leloba, a change from Vatter. The old pagan stuff in a material form is all gone.

124 After our talk we decided that perhaps Wailolong
121 was the best community in which to work, because Leloba is entirely Christian. In addition, Leloba was done by Vatter. Wailolong is about the same size as Leloba and at the crossroads below. We talked a great deal about adat and then came back to Larantuka with the guru, who wanted to visit the children in the school there.

312 In the afternoon we picked him up and went to Wailolong. On the way we picked up the kepala kampong Leloba and a few others. They were at the
[515] other crossroad near the spa, and here there were many women bathing (there is no water in the kampong for this). Women were also hauling water from this place. The guru said they had to go even farther
778 for water originally. It seems as though all of the kampongs have a higher negri lama, as in Ambon. There are holy stones here too.

361 Wailolong is along the main road and is located
161 on both sides of this highway. It may have as many as one hundred houses and a possible population of seven hundred.

[See bibliography, Cat. 113--Analyst]

000 trols this atomism.

124 212 115 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamiè had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 178 872 We talked about the way the old stories are dying out and the young people won't listen any more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 622 693 614 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang where they were to have a case hearing. It is evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several [30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a 614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

We

Men of	Marry Women of
IVa2	III
IVb	I, II
IVc	I, II
Va	I, II
Vb	I, II

582 614 835 583 684 178 The case of IIIc intermarrying with IIIa (perhaps it is IIIb) was one of incest which involved three virtually simultaneous marriages which occurred two generations ago. There were three men from one family who paid a very high bride price. This is like the similar case in Leloba. I asked how much higher the bride price was in these cases, and he said that they had to pay more tusks, but the man had to kill all of his animals. Thus it seems like a kind of tremendous purifying feast in order that the incest may be allowed. He said that the Leloba incestuous arrangement is still technically in, and anyone who wants to follow it now may do so without paying the tremendous price the pioneers once did. Both of the men who did it in Leloba are dead now. As for the Wailolong cases, this arrangement has been stopped, or rather, if it is carried on today it is wrong. They don't do it any more. There were the three men and then it ended. I asked about any resulting disasters and he said it is true that these sinners had had terrible troubles. I must ask what these troubles were exactly.

624 622 614 554 The offices are as follows:

--Kepala Kampong Kottang (Ib)

I. Radja Tuan Datong (kepala suku, tuan tanah) (Ia)

(2) a. Kelake Ama Radja (kepala ama (same man as I)

War

622 (1) b. Kelake Ama Belolong
624 c. Kelake Ama Rere
614
554

--Kepala Kampong Keleng (Leworita) (IIb)

II. Radja Tuan Leworita (IIa)
(1) a. Kelake Subamaki(ng) (same man as II)
(2) b. Kelake Harutmaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Tapopuka(ng)

--Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

III. Radja Tuan Ama Hurint (IIIa)
(2) a. Kelake Hadumbole(ng) (Same man as IIIa)
(1) b. Kelake Marimaki(ng)
(3) c. Kelake Melamaki(ng)

IV. Radja Tuan Lewato (IVa)
a. Kelake Waru'i(ng) (same man as IVa)
b. Kelake Waktuka(ng)
c. Kelake Tuhowutung

V. Radja Tuan Lewodoreng (Vb)
a. b. Kelake Waru'i(ng)--Engamaki(ng)
(same man as V)

(The arabic numerals to the left of the lower case letters in the above list refer to the relative rank of the offices listed.)

The last of these five suku is small and so has only one officer. There are only nine men in this suku (they reckon the size of a suku by the number of men in it), and thus there are perhaps only about thirty to forty people in all. They mentioned other suku with forty or more men. Lewato is also not very large. They say it has about twice as many as Lewodoreng. (These are IV and V.)

622 The kepala kampong is purely an administrative
624 chief. The adat chiefs, who were evidently the
614 only chiefs formerly, are the radja tuan and the

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a bander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 & [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

War

614 chiefs and also clear up the exact differences
● 622 between the kepala suku and the kepala kampong, if any.

622 The next day I got an explanation of the
624 officers. The three kepala kampong (called
614 Kottang, Kelen and Hurint) are the administra-
574 tive officers. They are chosen by their respec-
796 tive suku. They have no ritual function as such,
231 unless they happen also to be either kepala suku of their suku or the kelake of their ama. The radja tuan and the kelake are also chosen by their respective suku and ama, but from the noble lineage within the suku. They must come from the "big house" (Lango' Bele'). Each suku has one such big house, and so does each ama. I have seen them in Leloba. I found out, however, that the head and feet are not actually held by the kepala suku Kottang and Kelen, but rather by some man, evidently it matters not who, from their suku. Also, the kepala suku Hurint himself does not actually cut (though evidently he may do so if he wants to), but usually delegates the job to one of his fellow suku members.

It happens then, in Wailolong, that there are five radja tuan and three kepala kampong. Then there are the kelake.

If they hold a suku feast, i.e., a feast on the land of the suku itself and which concerns only the suku, it runs something like this in each of the suku:

Ama Datong	Head:	Man from Ama Radja.
	Feet:	Man from Ama Belolong.
	Cut:	Man called in from Ama Hurint, but may not be from Nipatale.
Leworitá	Head:	Man from IIa.
	Feet:	Man from IIb.
	Cut:	Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Wa

● 622 624 614 796 574 231 **Ama Hurint** Head: Man called from Ia or Ib.
Feet: Man called from IIa or IIb.
Cut: Man from Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewato Head: Man from IVa.
Feet: Man from IVb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

Lewodoreng Head: Man from Va.
Feet: Man from Vb.
Cut: Man called from Ama Hurint, except Nipatale.

If a kampong feast is held for all of the people, the setup is as follows:

Head: Man from Ama Radja (Ia).
Feet: Man from Subamaki(ng) (IIa).
Cut: Man from III, except Nipatale.

614 567 423 582 [796] [753] The Nipatale groups--in Wailolong they are IIIa2 and IVa2; in Leloba IV-lb--are former slaves, bought respectively by the Ama Hadumbole(ng) Waru'i(ng), and Lewamaki(ng) amas. They have no ritual standing and they may never hold or cut. They just look on. Also, they have no land of their own, but use the land of their masters (i.e., the ama who bought their ancestors). They must give the first fruits of their gardens to these masters, and if they do not they get sick. He says that they were bought from Adonara not long ago, perhaps about four generations. They are not really free yet. They must obey the orders of their masters. In ordinary life, however, this is a matter of adat and respect (hormat), and they are not ashamed. It is really a matter of (a) owning no land of their own; (b)

R

693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are

796 241 574 527 separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes.

[614] [341] 000 And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

R

614 here the process has gone much further and they
124 are slower in general to respond. Anyway I got to the point where they said that there are really only two "native" suku here in Roworeke,
● [622] Odja and Rewarangga. Only an Odja can become kepala kampong.

622 Incidentally, they agreed that in the old
624 days they had only four adat chiefs. The kepala
[177] kampong were superimposed by the Dutch. They know this. I asked who were really higher in rank, the mosa laki mere or the kepala kampong, and they said that they were just different.
614 Other suku than the main two here are for example, Wanda, Ndoru, Songo, Soa, Fongi; all of which are from Lio, and are represented here by women who have married in mostly. Then there is Djawa, which has been here for a long time. Also there is Meo, from Nggobe; Gusi, from another Ende gemeente; Gusa (or Tibo), from Koavena; another Rewarangga kampong; and Woro (same).

778 Koa is the negri lama of the Gusa suku, and there the rumah berhala is located. It is the one that has the images. Many of the oldtimers live there. It is one kilometer uphill from the km. 10 mark on the road, just above the kapitan's garden. There is a rumah berhala in Worowai, where rites are held. I must get to see this.

614 There is no question here but that the Rewarangga suku has the greatest power in all the gemeente. It may also have been the original suku. Next in order is Odja, and evidently next in line comes Reandona, whose native kampong is Manunggo'o, in the hills above Roworeke.

527 On December 27, after the ceremony of independence, came the same sort of thing as on flag day, but now for nearly a week there will be no
487 work. We left for Badjawa, the capital of Ngada. The road went along the coast through a number

311
241 cover for agriculture too, and this causes a great, economic problem.

114 He[1] said that much of Arndt's[2] and other scholars'
124 findings were wrong as they use Christian
159 gurus as assistants, and the latter do not tell
634 them exactly what the old men say. The young assistants "doctor up" the information. They also misunderstand some of the old ideologies. This was one of many implications in his talk that showed he was not uncritical of the Christians. He has been radja longer than any other in Flores, thirty-one years and seven months. In his youth he was a Dutch army man too. He says that there was no road built when he was first made radja but the mission was already there. He also says that he is the most important radja in West Flores, although all of the royal families here are interrelated. He says he represents the older sibling branch, and Nageh and Manggarai radjas are the younger sibling branches. It is true that the Manggarai radjadom dates only from 1929, and before this there were only dalu, three of whom were most powerful.

194 The Radja speaks Malay with remarkable gutteral sounds which Arndt[2] says are characteristic of Ngada folk. They also have at least one implosive, as in bhaga. He has his house in the kampong Radja, not far from the town.

361 The town is notably modern in appearance, with
797 the mission influence as usual. In the center there is a large plaza where the football field
[485] is located, as usual. The pasanggrahan is a
622 good one, and the mandur looks like a nickel-
634 head Indian. He was in the army once too and served in Sumatra, especially in Atjeh. He is evidently a friend of the Radja, as he enters
[565] and talks with him freely. The Radja mixes
443 freely with the people here, as we noted at the pasar malam. The latter, to which we went at

[1] [i.e., the Radja of Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

632 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and
621 three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol. There are three other Weol kampongs in the daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong and five branch kampongs. All of them, including Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. Indeed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol
[614] and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But this is a special case as it is the directly governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives, however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the four gelarang into which the daluschap is divided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three kampongs.

622 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but
624 not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The
632 big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I wonder if perhaps, before, these were the district chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kampong. That is, they have two posts. This is so
[565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even the purely administrative officers in the adat-chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son, but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu, after quietly finding out the will of the folk in the kampong.

Weo

614 166 All the people in Weol gelarang are of va'u Weol. There is one exception, the va'u Tjepang. These folk came in before from Boleng, in North Manggarai. They settled in kampong Weol, but when things became crowded, they went below to kampong Tjantjar. The latter alone has many people who are not of the va'u Weol, except for real newcomers, such as the Ruteng folk in Ndung, who came to work in the gardens (evidently as coolies) and settled down. There are many outsiders in the mixed and new kampong Tjantjar.

614 773 824 784 The original ancestors of the va'u Weol came out of a bamboo at a spot near the present spring below Weol. There are bamboo trees there descended from the original one. The original ancestors were a pair: Vako Dangka and Ine Karas. Not only is the bamboo taboo but also the lusa (red beans). For example, if a child eats these unwittingly, a fowl must be killed. They do not "cut off" the tongue symbolically with a leaf as is done in some other areas.

614 784 562 783 Women from other clans marrying into Weol must take on the taboo of their husbands. A Weol woman marrying into another clan may eat lusa, but only after performing the rite called ela penteng pitak, which means "to clean off the mud." She must take on the totem taboos of her husband's clan. The woman marrying into Weol gives up her own taboos, but must also do the ela penteng pitak. This ceremony involves a pig sacrifice. Thus every woman marrying into another clan must do this rite to give up her own totems. The name of the totem taboo is tjek'ki.

565 632 624 622 [634] There is a nobility which applies to the radjas, dalu, and gelarang. The gelarang are the tuan tanah (and kepala kampong) of the central kampongs of the gelarang districts, for example, Weol. Thus Weol has two gelarang, and Ndung has only one, because the kepala kampong

565 632 624 622 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin. (Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 624 592 There is no native term for the kepala kampong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 592 693 The kampong council, which must be called together for each case, includes the tuan tanah, the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 624 The clans are divided into subclans called panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 173 I asked about the origin of the panga. The original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

We

872 one-half years ago. Children of, for example,
[177] fifteen can't enter this school because they are too old. This is a big reason why there is less acculturation here than in Larantuka.
624 Also, Larantuka has lost the power of adat
622 chiefs to a greater degree, as has Ende. Here
177 they still are the most powerful leaders, and even the kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah family. This is clearly the area of least acculturation, although in agriculture and technology they are just as advanced if not more so than in the other areas. For example, witness the wooden houses. But adat is stronger here, and the mother's brother's daughter marriage still stands. The priests still compromise
527 more with the old. There are many many feasts.
574 There are feasts at birth, death, marriage, if
796 there are many children, at planting, at har-
756 vest, when a new garden is made, when a new
755 house is erected, and on many other occasions. Some of these are large and some are small. Some are for the family, and some are celebrated by larger units. Some are celebrated by the entire kampong. The biggest is perhaps the cleansing of the kampong ceremony. The medicine man, mbako decided when one is needed. Thus he says there is a lot of illness, etc., and it is time they had a "tjutji kampong."

756 There is at least one mbako in each kampong,
609 and some kampongs have more. He learns his trade from his father, but there are cases where such succession is not followed. There is one in Weol. However, they will never tell an outsider who the mbako is. He is secret. They all know who he is. However, even during a rite, he keeps in the background so that he can be kept hidden. Query: Is this because of the fear of the mission or the government or what? I couldn't get much about the latter, but I will try later. This is amazing!

R

614 like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now. Woro
361 came from Ndungga (Lio). It is unknown at present where Soa, Songo, and Mboti came from. Fongi came from Wolotope (Lio). Sue came from Tombe (Rabu; Rewarangga). Wai came from Wolotolo (Lio). Mbonggi came from Volofeo (Rewarangga). Pare came from Mbomba (Berai). Lenalaba came from Dile (Lio). Watu came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Gusi came from Watusipi (Berai). Wadja came from Potu (Nggobe).

622 Then we got onto the matter of who may be-
565 come kepala kampong. They said that he must be of the bangsawan class or the people will not follow him. Thus he must be of a mosa laki family. There are three possibilities in the rank of the kampongs:

(1) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are the same man.

(2) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are brothers.

(3) The kepala kampong and the mosa laki mere are of the same family.

Thus Roworeke has a kepala kampong of the mosa laki family. The same situation is true in Worowai and Manunggo'o. Worowaku has a kepala kampong and mosa laki mere in the same person. In Arereke they are in the same family, and so on.

632 The offices in the gemeente are: kapitan, the Big Four, the oppas (oppa), djurutulis (djurutuli), and mandur (oro kuni).

624 The officers of the kampong are: kepala kampong, the Little Four, mandur (oro kuni).

875 The two school teachers live in Waturoga. The head teacher is from Maumere, the other from Ndona. The religious teacher lives in Roworeke.

484 Everyone here in Roworeke has at least gone to Ende. They have seen little else, however. When they go to Ende they usually go for a single

R

621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

●622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

R

622 the Bapa ketjil. I might never have found this
693 out if I hadn't seen him dressed in adat cos-
624 tume coming into an adat meeting for a case hearing. His younger brother is the administrative kepala kampong. (The kapitan says
[565] that if the kepala kampong did not come from
[212] nobility the people would not follow him, and so I can see that they choose a man of the adat kepala kampong or ata nggaëh nua family for the administrative kepala kampong and in addition one who can read and write. Then they can keep the old man in the adat post.) Maybe there are cases of one man being both.
624 Thus in the kampong there are really five adat
622 officers: the ata nggaëh nua, the mosa laki
632 mere, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the
693 sikesani. The administrative ones are the kepala kampong and the oro kuni. The same pattern holds for the district. The kapitan is the administrative man, and then the mosa laki mere besar acts as adat chief. This might be the same man, I suppose. Then they have the other big mosa laki.

The adat case came up at noon, and coming to it were the Big Four (here the Kampong Four too), the kepala kampong, the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan. The chairman and judge, the mosa laki mere, as well as others (e.g., the kapitan), could ask questions and keep things in line. The kepala kampong must be present too (evidently both kinds of kepala kampong). This case was one concerned with marriage. I must ask later what it was.

Kattenburg got some material on administration. Theoretically, the adat chiefs are supposed to be used for administrative posts by the government. But they are rarely so used evidently, and this causes the dual system: adat and administration. They may coincide at any point. Generally, I think that

R

632 Generally, I think that
●622 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
624 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
693 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
631 can think of the following possible reasons:
(1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and
cannot do administrative work therefore; (2)
adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission,
therefore, probably does not like them (indeed,
one of the main ends of the mission is to do
away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they
usually say they want to do this because he
stands in the way of progress and land reform,
but this is a rationalization; it is like kill-
ing the Toradja death feasts because of immor-
ality, when the real reason is that they
constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival);
(3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even
today are probably the centers of possible
revolt against alien laws and government, and
thus it is better not to let them have too
much power. So they let them handle harmless
adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat
level, taking all important functions away
from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected"
in a way) are always or nearly always of the
adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala
kampong is the younger brother of the ata
nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the
adat lineage. They are literate and Christian
(or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to
the neck of the buffalo and then passed
through the U, and the other end is fastened
to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when
the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

War

582 614 IIIc marrying a woman of IIIa. This is something which happened two generations back when three men of IIIc married, for a high bride price, women of IIIa. However, this has been discontinued officially. The case did happen once, and it was definitely wrong. The assistant said it was incorrect. From the records I can see that there are very few endogamous marriages. The assistant says that they are a rare exception even today, although a few do it. It is wrong. The great bulk of the people here follow the rules strictly.

The suku Lewodoreng, in either Leloba or Wailolong, cannot marry with Lewonuhah. They are in a relationship of metemereng, i.e., older sibling--younger sibling. There is something to the elder--younger sibling business which constantly crops up here.

622 [614] The three kepala kampongs in each kampong are called kepala kampong Kottang, kepala kampong Keleng, and kepala kampong Hurint. These should be the Radja Tuans of the three main suku, i.e., the kepala suku or tuan tanah. And some of them are. However, it may be that the radja tuan may not want the post of kepala kampong which he may have, and so he gives this job over to a relative, in every case I have heard of, to a brother. Thus Roy is Radja Tuan of Hurint in Leloba, but he has given the kepala kampong post to his younger brother. There may be other variations too. Thus Leloba has only a kepala kampong Keleng and a kepala kampong Hurint. The kepala kampong Keleng is also the brother of the Radja Tuan Keleng, who has given over the post to him. There is no kepala kampong Kottang in Leloba now because the Kakang of the gemeente was the occupant of this post formerly, and since he has been in the kakang post, his former post has not been filled.

We Today there are more meetings and greater
208 effort to get the opinions of the people. This
694 is especially so since this Radja came in about
178 eleven years ago. Formerly, the radja merely
663 ordered things to be done and paid no heed to
648 the local requirements, etc. Also, the radja gets around to more areas now. (We noted that the Radja is making a good-will tour, and probably all of them are scared of another Java.) He said that there is a much closer arrangement between the radja and the people now. Formerly the Dutch and the radjas worked together very closely, and anyone who spoke up was simply jailed. I can see this is as in Ende, and the Dutch here until the end used the jail as the solution for everything. They wouldn't listen to anything else. If the radja and Dutch work together the result is tyranny, and it is real here.

There is more justice here now, they say. They say this began about eleven years ago with the present Radja. But this may be out of respect, and they admit that the real change has taken place here since the war. The war really liberated Indonesia. There is no more use of brute force. People can speak up now.

789 We had a long talk about magical power. They
769 say that the power of the chiefs, from the radja
●622 to the adat kepala kampong to the kepala suku to
[753] the kelake, is all a matter of fear of ances-
[752] tral punishment. If they do not obey, they become sick and have misfortunes. The magical power comes mainly from the ancestral spirits, but it is funneled through the magic stones of authority too. The curse power of an adat chief is very great. The power of the purely administrative chiefs, for example, the kepala kampong, who does not deal with adat, and the kabang, is that of the police, etc. This is actually not so because all of the chiefs are of the proper succession. If they ever tried to put one in

We

789 who was not so, the people would not follow him,
769 or rather they would do so only out of fear of
●622 being sent to jail. Such respect would be given only halfheartedly.

The power of the chiefs, up to the radja, rests on their "blood" or legitimate succession, and on the power of their ancestors, who uphold the proper authority and punishment the disobedient by unseen power. Legitimacy and magic power from the ancestors go together. I asked whether, if a bad man succeeded to a post legitimately, they would revolt? They said absolutely not, as he would be legitimate. However, they would rest assured that the ancestors would see to it that the bad fellow died quickly. The idea is to have faith in the ancestors. Following a succession of bad crops, or crop failure, illness, etc., they think that something is wrong. They may think that the chief concerned does not have the right power. They may seek ways out and may even ask the radja about it. But they would never revolt.

There are a few cases where two men hold the same post (adat) in Wailolong. These cases (Blawa, the one talked of) are of the kelake, and what happened was that the legitimate man could not seem to get the proper "wave length" to the powers, and the crops, etc., were bad. So, though they could not drive him out, they got another man to work with him. I think that what happens is that the new man, who gets results, does the main ritual work while the legitimate man, who has the title, passes around the betel. Thus form is kept. It is said, however, that there are a few "rebels". I must check this.

789 This led to a talk about what magical power is. They call it no'o ike(ng). It is mana or tondi. It means to have power literally. Everyone has some of the soul stuff or Lebenskraft,

Wav

783 The people here must confess at least once a year.

666 632 565 634 622 [646] There are only two elected representatives here and also in Wailolong. The only election in the area is for the parliament. There is also a kind of election for the kakang. The choosers are the twenty-four kepala kampong of the eight kampongs. In the old days, although they got together, and went through the form of accepting the oldest son of the deceased or ejected kakang, it had to be the eldest son. Now they actually choose from candidates. The candidates must be of the proper nobility, so there aren't very many. Thus, when the previous kakang went out (he was ejected in 1938 because of a misdemeanor), there were three candidates: Roy, a man from Lewohala, and the present kakang. Roy says they were the only ones who were both noble and qualified. By the latter term he means that they were clever enough for the job. They had to be of the direct descending family of the radja tuan or kelake. The Radja of Larantuka is chairman of the electoral committee. Roy said that he does not force a choice, but lets everybody talk freely.

632 634 622 [178] Then it came out that there have actually been three phases in the kakang business: (1) pre-1915: he merely represented the succession; (2) 1915--1938: a period of tyranny, when the radja simply chose whom he pleased. This was the period when the Dutch and the radja worked together, the dark years; and (3) 1938--present: election within limits. Roy knows the word "candidaat."

Nowadays the radja must accept the will of the kepala kampong. The last imposed kakang, of the Larantuka Radja family, was deposed in 1938. He had been chosen by the radja three years before.

[661] In 1924 Roy had been elected by the kepala kampong, but the radja would not accept him (in 1938 Roy was a candidate but was not elected). This is an example of radja tyranny.

War

000 This is an example of radja tyranny.

888 178 622 Formerly, politicians were older than they are today. Indeed, they would not follow a younger man formerly very well. Today there are plenty of cases of an older radja tuan giving his rightful kepala kampong post to a younger brother. At least it is usually the latter, for this keeps it in the proper family. The older man keeps the adat post. (This is what Roy himself has done here). He said that this is done: (1) because if there is trouble in the kampong, the kepala kampong bears the brunt of this and may have to go to jail. It is better to have two men so that one can carry on the administration; (2) the older man is often unable to read and write. Formerly the three kepala kampong were always the same men as the radja tuan of the three main suku.

[561] 178 797 177 This led to a long talk about the conflict between generations. Roy says that there is no conflict here, as they give in if the children are firm enough. He also says that although the old resisted religious change before, they have surrendered now and know that it is hopeless. When they are dead they know that paganism will be finished. It came out clearly here that the only real force of change has been Catholicism. And the only area of change has been religion, although other aspects have been affected thereafter. Thus we got again onto the subject of religion.

797 178 I asked if, if there were a long period of misfortunes, there might not be a reversion to paganism. He said that this is conceivable, but that it has gone too far now for this to be a strong probability. He gave a case of a kampong on the neck of Tandjung Bunga, Riang Koli, which not long ago decided that it would not give up paganism but would merely make a deliberate combination of it and Catholicism. How-

R

632 634 622 [177] I asked first for the history of the kapitanschap here. I found that it is only about thirty-seven years old. That means that it dates from the Dutch entry (which began in 1907). And the kepala kampong dates from the same time. Before that they had only the adat chiefs, the mosa laki. The record:

1.	Present radja (Odja)	5 years.
2.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	1 year.
3.	Preceding radja (Odja)	2 years.
4.	Preceding radja (Odja)	11 years.
5.	Preceding radja (Odja)	15 years. (approximate).
6.	Preceding radja (Rewarangga)	3 years (approximate).
	Total . .	37 years

Then we talked about the election of radjas, and I found out that the only "voters" are the nine kapitans and the nine mosa laki mere of the gemeente. The kepala kampong may attend, but he has no voice. This shows how important the mosa laki still are.

622 887 624 The ata nggaeh is not the adat kepala kampong as I had supposed. What happens is that in every kampong there is an old man who is called ata nggaeh, and he knows all about adat. He attends all the adat cases. Thus the man is Bapa Ketjil. The post is not hereditary, but is based merely on cleverness. It is that of the "adat master." His word outweighs even that of the kapitan in adat cases.

624 465 Each kampong has varying numbers of mandur, assistants of the kepala kampong. Roworeke has four of these assistants, Manunggo'o has two, etc. They receive no pay, but are tax free,

R

000 children. It is remarkable that there is so
658 much freedom exhibited by the children all over here. They do as they please evidently.

463 Nearly everyone is a farmer here, but to
212 be kepala kampong, kapitan, secretary, or
622 the like, an individual must be literate. There are, however, illiterate kepala kampongs, but they must use a literate mandur to help them with the work. There are no openings for clerical people or the like.

[874] The only seminary here is for priests, and
787 as yet there are no students there from here.
[154] The bisa mari (sorcerers) are not trained. They get their call in dreams. They are about
[156] equally male and female. The dukun also get
[844] their call in dreams. However, the ones who are midwives learn from mothers.

463 There are no specialists at all. The local
438 population must buy even its ironwork elsewhere.
335 They do not even have carpenters here. Anyone can build a house. This place exhibits a very low level in all such things except weaving. They now learn music in school.

873 Many children who are clever and would like to advance in school cannot do this as it costs fl. 10.00 per month for a higher education. There is plenty of heartache here. Perhaps there is not so very much yet, actually.

212 Fifty years ago no one could read or write, not even in the Ende script.

197 One hundred per cent of the people here speak Ende, including the foreigners from Savu and the Chinese. The latter did not speak Ende when they came in, but after a year they could.

Only about one hundred can speak Malay. No one speaks Dutch. The children are starting to learn a bit of Dutch in school now, but this is evidently only in the higher school.

There are no other languages spoken, except of course, Chinese and Savu. They say that they

R

436 727 sionally one sees a ten sen ketip.[1] The Japanese took everything. They also probably melted down a lot of the coins. There is very 437 little barter here as they have so little merchandise as real surplus. If they need food badly, they may sell cloth in the mountains for some form of food.

493 [435] No one has a car. No one has ever owned a car here. And no one can drive. Buses are very little used. The fare to Ende is fl. 0.50.

429 614 ●622 The owner of all the land is the mosa laki mere of the kampong. He is thus the tuan tanah. Each family has its own house and garden land which is inherited. The parcels are in family units. Land is not sold, bought, or rented. There is also suku land, usually too far off in the hills (where the kampong lama of the suku is) to work. Thus the Odja suku has some in Rabu, but they never use it. The suku land in the kampong is under the giri tumba. Evidently there are no kepala suku, and thus no real suku property organization. This is because the mosa laki mere was formerly the kepala suku when the suku were localized. In the kampong, most of the suku land is that of Rewarangga, and indeed if one looks back far enough, all of the land in Roworeke belonged to Rewarangga suku. Note that the mosa laki mere is of Rewarangga. The Odja folk were given land for coming in and, for example, helping the Rewarangga in warfare. Thus it is possible, and evidently indeed usual, for incoming suku to get pieces of land from the mosa laki mere who is land master of the original suku.

[609] There is also undivided kampong land, and this may be developed by anyone with the consent of the mosa laki mere. Even outsiders may do this, for example, the people from Ende, who live in the kampong.

[1] [i.e., small silver coin --Analyst]

R

423 sons a parcel before he dies. Also, he may split
428 up his land among the brothers as the group gets
614 too large. When a group is really too large,
592 for the estate, some may go to the mosa laki
[622] mere and get consent to develop a new piece of waste kampong land. Also, if there are too many people for the estate, the men or some of them may work on their wives' families' land. This is considered all right.

428 As for houses, the eldest son takes over
592 the paternal house, and if there is room enough
614 all brothers and families may live there too. Some may move off into new houses. Thus the present kepala kampong, Pala, is the eldest brother of the assistant, Migo. Their father was Pega. They are of the Pega lineage. Pala occupies the old house, Migo a new one. If Pala dies, Migo will take over the house and management of the family land. The eldest son is the big man all through the system, and posts descend via the eldest branch all the way down. The younger branches are always underneath. Nevertheless, they may set up a new lineage at any time. Thus there could be a branch-off with Migo, and his sons would be the members. However, they may keep the unit Pega for several generations, before splitting.

422 There is also the matter of the family
428 ritual possessions. These go down from eldest
614 son to eldest son all the way. Thus Migo has none, because in his family the pusaka belongs to his brother Pala. However, a father may divide it up before he dies.

The family or lineage is the important property unit. Small articles, for example, clothing, may be individually owned, and the suku and even the kampong has property. But the crucial unit is the great family.

462 There is not such a strong division by sex here. The women work at agriculture just like

R

462 the men. If a woman gets sick, a man may fetch
[286] water, and some men like to cook. The only
thing which is purely a woman's occupation is
[285] weaving. There is no mat or basket making
here. This is done only in the mountains.

426 Small debts may be accumulated among the kampong folk. Thus if a man has fl. 10.00 he lets it be known that he will lend it, and he does so at interest. People seldom borrow more than fl. 5. For one month for this amount they must repay fl. 7 to fl. 8. Thus there is a fantastic amount of interest. The Chinese will lend only if the borrower has some form of security, for example, a gold decoration. He charges the same rate. There were and are no government pawn shops here.

465 There are about five men who work as coolies
178 in Ende town. These are the only wage earners.
The kapitan receives pay, and the secretary gets a very small amount. The kepala kampong gets eight per cent of the tax yield (this is bad). The mosa laki mere gets meat at all feasts. He also receives rice. Fifty years ago there were no wages at all.

443 There are two Chinese stores (at kilometer 6 and kilometer 8). There are eight warong, six owned by the papalele Ende folk, and the other two by the guru agama and the kepala kampong. They sell the same merchandise as the Chinese stores but have smaller stock.

● 622 The posts of kepala kampong and kapitan are
634 new here. This is true also of their mandur.
578 The radja has always been here as a post. There have been changes in the borders too. Thus there is no more Radja of Ndona. The family lives near the bridge but no longer has the post. (All over Flores there must be these fragments of old-time ruling families, and there is a great deal of potential trouble here unless the whole radja complex gets cleared away.)

R

302 178 (Note: One thing he mentioned as brand new is the matter of haircuts. In the old days they shaved the heads of the young, and some children still have these shaved heads. But the older people had their hair done in a long bob.)

624 All of the adat posts are the same today as they were before, and Migo said that indeed the most important man is the mosa laki mere, even now (aside from the kapitan, perhaps). The only post which is no longer kept up is the non-hereditary panglima perang, or atambani.

634 565 614 632 First there is the Radja of Ende. Then come the families or lineages of the mosa laki, which are strictly hereditary, in an eldest son succession. Thus the eldest of the eldest of the eldest, etc. This forms a kind of hereditary nobility, although it is not considered such. Aside from this, the suku have certain prerogatives now, and even before this was probably the case. And this leads to an important correction: It is true that any male member of the suku Odja or Rewarangga, and of these only, can become kapitan. He is chosen for cleverness (!). The Reandona suku has been trying to get a man into the kapitan's post for a long time, but unless Odja and Rewarangga agree, this is impossible. It is their business. This is why he originally wrote that every member of the Odja suku is "bangsawan." He thinks this is true in the other districts, but he is not sure. Certain suku have the pre-eminence in each district.

● 622 614 The kepala kampong post also must be within the suku Odja, and the best man gets it. He thinks this is the same for other kampongs. Thus in Worowai, the kepala kampong must be from the Rewarangga suku, etc. Thus even the elective offices must be within a suku which

R

622 carries on the prerogatives in a hereditary
614 fashion. If these posts are not so held, the people will not follow the individuals who occupy them.

789 In regard to magic power, he says that there is none here. Not even the radja pos-
624 sesses any. Nevertheless, he says that everyone, without exception, obeys the officers. They just do it. He thinks that perhaps in the mountain kampongs I might still find ideas about magic power, but not here. I couldn't get anything more about this. Thus the situation here is different from the magic power and support of the ancestors which the officers in Larantuka have.

793 The pastors have magic power (and here per-
789 haps I can say that they are the only ones who today still have such power). They can wash away sins, do miracles, etc.

624 All adat posts are passed on from eldest son
646 to eldest son in a pure succession manner. They remain the same. The elections of the kepala kampong and the kapitan are new. Also new are the members of the Flores parliament and of the East Indonesian parliament. There are two electors in the district Rewarangga, for there are about one thousand tax-paying men. There is one elector for each five hundred tax-paying men.

666 When there is an election of electors, the kapitan calls all of those tax-paying individuals to his office, and he (the kapitan) posts a list of four candidates (!!). Each man comes forth clutching a stone, and he whispers his choice to the two "guards". The guard slips the stone in the proper pile. This is all done secretly and by whispering (but the guards know!). At first, the people here did not understand this and had to be egged on to come to the election. They did not know what it was all

R

511 515 cloth to spare for their noses. This is really very true!

622 755 769 [443] On Sunday I went to Roworeke again, but at once I was taken into the rear part of the little warong at kilometer 6, which is owned by the kepala kampong. What a pitiful stock he has: a few bars of yellow soap, some bananas, and that's about all. In a little compartment behind this area he squatted, looking awful. On one side, on the floor, one of his wives were tending a fire on the earth, and on the other side was his other wife (the second one, whom I had thought a handsome pagan when she was a bit dressed up, but now she did not look so good, with betel stains, etc.). He told me about the blood pouring from his nose a few nights ago, for four to five hours. He had a high fever (still had it), and pains, and dizziness and blackouts. I tried to see what was up, but the blood was queer.

Then the assistant (his brother) said we should go and get the old dukun who was treating him. The dukun lives in Ndona. On the way there the assistant said that the dukun had already treated the kepala kampong, and that is why he had gotten better. At least the blood had stopped. I asked what the diagnosis had been, and he said it was something to do with the ancestors. The idea seemed to be that somewhere or other along the line they hadn't "fed" the ceremonial objects of the family properly, and this was the cause of the illness. The assistant said that he suspected also that the kepala kampong was too harsh in his administration, and the people were not happy about it (he has been in his post for four years now). This information was rather mumbled, perhaps so that the lads in the back seat could not hear us, and I wonder if perhaps he was inferring that someone rubbed wrong by

R

622 the kepala kampong had put a hex on him. They
755 show the pagan beliefs more and more now. Later
[769] on I discussed the case with the assistant, and he said that I didn't understand why the blood situation had come about. Perhaps the dukun was right: it was a curse of the ancestors for unfulfilled duties to the ceremonial objects.

At Ndona, where there is a big church, school, etc., and in a rather clean kampong there is an enormous cement block on which is set a big flat stone from an old grave heap. There the assistant got off to get the dukun, who lives a one kilometer walk away. Great crowds from the church stood around the jeep and stared at me. He came back after awhile, and with him was a very old man with a chin beard. He had on an old sarong and headcloth. He had never been in a car before, and they had to tell him how to get in, which he did gingerly. He was almost blind. Then we went off to see the patient. When the old man got out I saw his baggage: a kris and a cloth with a lot of things in it, including a brass container. The assistant said that he was to stay with the patient for a week and treat him. If the sick man got better, he would have to give a feast and sacrifice an animal. The dukun is the last terrifically powerful one left in the whole area. When he dies, his children have learned
[759] only a part of his lore. It is too bad for the public health, because there are no doctors here, and it is better to have a dukun than no one. (Think of the psychological need.)

493 Then we went to the house of the kapitan, who luckily was not there. (We had met him on the way to Ende, with his new bicycle, which cost fl. 300.00.)

513 Boys sleep in separate houses. In this area
882 (are there others in the kampong elsewhere? there must be) it is a "bivak," i.e., a wall-

War

423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- [591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

476 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers. 789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[553] The only ones who have risen are the gurus. 554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

R

527 852 A small feast is given at the birth of a child.

304 There is no supercision, except for Mohammedan circumcision, and this is done only in a few cases. (Evidently, in Indonesia, where supercision was in before, they may continue it under Mohammedanism, for example, in Makassar. But where there was no cutting before, they take on Mohammedan circumcision only.)

They say that they never had any cutting here. However, they say that they know of at least two kampongs in Lio where cutting did take place.

622 793 The mosa laki are of course religious as well as adat chiefs. The Catholic priest has a house here, but does not reside there. He makes periodic visits. There are two religious teachers.

771 I can discern no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

798 I wonder if the new bureaucracy, and also the Mohammedan majority, may cause trouble for the Catholic-oriented education of Flores. So far there has been no trouble.

798 There is very little discussion of religion here. They seem to let it slide by, and I get the idea that there is no great trouble in regard to paganism because (1) they never had any real resistance here, and (2) the pagans are too dumb, and so are the Christians, and (3) the Catholics do not evidently attack directly.

782 797 [231] There was no trouble here in regard to the acceptance of Mohammedanism from the standpoint of sacrifice, because they have plenty of non-taboo animals, for example, the buffalo, cattle, and goats. Therefore, it is not necessary to have a pig for pagan rites, and even the Mohammedans would get their share at a feast. This is different from Larantuka, where a Mohammedan would go hungry at the largely pork provided feasts. And also, in Larantuka, the all-essen-

651 Arriens said that he had heard this from the Radja as a big source of trouble now. I can imagine it. Their big trouble on this simple level, with the government, was only taxes (and for a few, jail). Thus, when freedom comes in, it means freedom from the Dutch burden, taxes.
● [622] [554] Anyway, I noted that the kapitan, as usual when in trouble, had called the giri tumba and the big ata ngga'eh nua (Bapa Ketjil) to come to his house in full adat dress. This underlines again the point that real prestige is in these old adat chiefs. They are the ones to call upon when a real decision has to be made. And there sat the malcontents, about to face the adat chiefs.

114 In Ndona, as I waited for the assistant to get the dukun from the hills, I sat in the jeep and read Bruine's[1] report on Lio, which was very 123 appropriate. As church got out, there gathered about at least twenty men and boys, and the latter hung over me while I was reading or at least trying to read the book. They were astonished, and read aloud, when they saw words [212] [515] like "mosa laki Ndona." And some of them could read the Dutch. Overall was the smell of sweat and onions.

181 123 The last trick of the assistant was to ask for my fountain pen so that he could look at it and think of me. These folk are easily the most greedy yet. I doubt that one could appeal to mere good spirit here.

114 103 I think I have finally located the Rea which Elbert and Körner[2] always refer to as Rea Ndona. I think they mean the Ende coastal area. I know where Ndona is, but I now see in a map in the Bruine[1] report that Tanah Rea is the former name of the area in which Nangapanda is on the south coast. It stretched to the north coast of Flores.

000 Back in these hills, which I wish I could explore, there may well have been endocannibalism!

[1] [Probably the Controleur at Lio--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

217 statistics are available for all of the people), but the pastor puts names down in the church book. There is not even a registry of births and deaths (as I think there is in Larantuka and Ende), but each year for taxes a census is taken, by asking how many children there are in a house, etc. I see that one could easily have a continuous census in most parts of Indonesia, as the units are so small, and the hierarchy of administration is so close knit. The kepala
●[622] kampong knows everything in his kampong, and the kepala kampongs could report to the kepala district, and so on up.

583 I noticed a case of a little girl of seven living in a house with her father's sister, who has a son. I asked, could this be a case of having already paid the price for this little girl? That is, has he already "taken possession of the goods"? He said that he didn't know, but said that this happens here (i.e., an early payment of the bride price for a little girl). This happens even when the girl is as young as five years. I must check on this case.

178 342 I talked with van Bekkum[1] about Kattenburg's notion that in Manggarai, economy has advanced, but adat holds, whereas in other parts, economy has not changed but adat has changed. He thinks this is not a bad idea. And then he gave cases of how houses are rapidly becoming changed to the new type, and the old round ones are almost dying out. Also the way wet rice fields are
[241] spreading is most rapid, as is the spread of the use of the buffalo in agriculture. Note how, even in the new rectangular houses, if there is a rite held, the tuan tanah sits in the high spot, and although there is no more a center post, they put a stick up where it should be. (I can't help but think that the lodok must be linked with the center post of the old round houses, and I wonder if perhaps the wedges of

[1] [i.e. pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

We

178 the fields might not have been arranged like the
342 places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

592 The assistant says that in the old days when
614 perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a
622 tenu gelarang might not have been the highest
152 chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a tenu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a tenu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt denies, but that Staveren says is found in Ngada above the voi there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo 685 with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

We

621 614 554 There is certainly no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village. Still, the gelarang kampongs feel a bit superior to the former slave ones, for example, sekontu and lampang. They look down a bit on Tjantjar, as it is not of the Veol va'u. But the branch kampongs which are of the va'u Veol are as good as the central kampong. Thus Ndung is just as good as Veol, and so is, for example, Sampar. They are original people too. Thus the blood bond comes first. As for outsiders who live in the kampong, if they get angry they may throw this up. For example, the assistant said it might happen to him.

614 621 602 He also said that no matter how long a person is away, no matter how many generations intervene, he and his descendants are still Pau people and go there as often as possible; that is, unless the case involves people who have been established as real members of an independent clan kampong elsewhere. However, they still remember the real, old ancestral kampong.

As yet there have been no returning villagers to tell anything about the outside world.

In inter-community relations the important thing is the blood bond. The va'u comes first, and then the kampongs or clans or families with many marriage bonds. Thus it is mainly genealogical. The gelarang is important, as generally all the kampongs in a gelarang are of one va'u. The only exception here is the unusual Tjepang kampong. Tjantjar and other kampongs here have many marriage relations with it. Ndung is close in all ways.

[622] Thus the gelarang is just about the same as a "clan district," and the tuan tanah in the central kampong is the head, and the other tuan tanah are branch-offs from him.

Beyond the va'u there are nearly no real relationships, except for the areas where va'u

We

000 and such is used in war.

621 574 191 Correction: When there is a big feast in the central kampong, all members of the tjabang kampongs must attend. However, if a big feast is held at a tjabang kampong, it is a matter of choice whether the other tjabang kampongs and the pusat kampong attend. However, each must send a delegation. (This is like the big feasts in the Ambon pela kampongs. The pela radja and saniri must go, and others may do so if they want to.)

621 622 346 351 788 It is true that the pusat kampong has more power in a way than the others. Its drums, gongs, tjompang, main pillar of the tuan tanah house, main garden (lingko randang), and the tuan tanah besar himself are all part of this power. All others stem from these. However, the picture is not one of a clear hierarchy. Nevertheless, if a man is very sick, for example, they may decide that it is well to go to the tjompang of the pusat kampong and go through some ceremony. However, there is not a real vivid ranking or constellation of rank.

The assistant says that the round house and the round garden are definitely related. But here again he is unclear. The house is linked with the garden, and after the rites which are held in the garden, they come back to the main house. Also there is a saying: mbarun one uman peang, i.e., "house has link with garden." When a tuan tanah besar gives a drum and a gong to a new branch kampong, he also gives it a "big garden" (lingko randang). Here is where the biggest rites are held. (Lingko means only "round garden.") And when they have rites in the garden, they go directly from the lodok there to the main post in the tuan tanah house. Thus, there seems to be a definite link between

346 351 788 the main post of the big house and the main garden's lodok. There is the same parading

We

614 and these are the keys to the stuff: wodja bakok are the same as lampang. The meaning is "white rice." Lampang means "stocks" wherein new slaves are put to keep them from running away. The totems newly inserted are:

[784]

lavo	mouse
kaba	buffalo
paku	a leafy vegetable
betu	a kind of mouse
pake	frog
peti	a kind of bird

614 764 784 756 178 Naked burial is called gilo. Note that this used to be a totem of the Pau va'u, and it was given up via a big feast in 1932. At the same time, the buffalo taboo of Pau (Pau therefore does have a food taboo, or rather it did), was given up too via the same feast. In regard to the naked burial, the people decided it was too much trouble, and I suppose they felt they might as well get rid of the buffalo taboo at the same time. To do this kind of thing a va'u must consult a mbako to see if it is all right. If so, they have the feast called kaba oke tjek'i ("buffalo removes the taboo").

nggevo red bean (different from the lusa)

531 622 I asked if it was right that the radja has no horns on his house as he is not a tuan tanah. They said yes. He has no relation with the land. But nowadays there is plenty of illegal use of the horns by non-tuan tanah.

782 It is true that an offering is always made at the vatu Veol before starting garden work. This is as Coolhaas says.

829 No one is able to draw a map of Flores and Indonesia and the world.

212 Fifty years ago (and even forty years ago) no

1 [See bibliography, cit. 113 -- Analyst]

War

462 and goats.

There is no shame, however, if one has to do
[887] the work of the other sex. The old people putter about, for example, the old women make mats, and the old men carve spoons, etc.

426 If one borrows corn or rice, which is done
686 for the most part, interest is charged at the rate of one hundred per cent annually. This is redoubled each year, and if it is finally unpaid, there may be a court case and the person
[435] may have to pay a horse (the present price of a horse is fl. 200 and for a buffalo fl. 350).

Money is not borrowed. The reason they borrow rice and corn and why they do this from kampong fellows is that many families are too
311 large. Land is now all divided. The kampong
511 is full. Therefore there is actual hunger in November and December, when the crops are growing. Thus if the population continues to increase, some will have to move. The reason the Dalong folk repossessed one of the Radja's gardens was that there was an actual shortage of land. I didn't realize this trouble before. There are actually poor people here because the land is all occupied. Therefore, not even new gardens are possible here. But no one starves. I asked what the main worry was. They said getting cloth. It is very hard to get. Food is a worry only for some people.

465 There are no wage earners except for those who do a bit of work in other people's gardens. The present wage is fl. 1.00 a day. Before even this was not done.

634 In regard to political life there were Bima,
632 dalu, gelarang, and kraeng (some kampongs), and
●622 the tuan tanah fifty years ago. In 1940 there
624 were the Dutch, the radja (since 1929), the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and kepala kampong. In 1950 there are the radja, the dalu, the gelarang, the tuan tanah, and the kepala kampong.

Wes

622 Rahong is just about the same as fifty years
624 ago, except for the kraeng kampongs which have gone out since about fifteen years ago. Also, there have been kepala kampongs since then. The organization runs as follows: Kampong: tuan tanah; kepala kampong; tuan panga; tuan mbaru. These form the kampong council. Some kampongs have the same man as tuan tanah and kepala kampong.

632 Gelarang: the gelarang (and they use the
614 title dangka for him, also) (one can't use "temu" and "gelarang" at the same time; thus it is not "tu'a temu gelarang"), and the kampongs below him are included. There is no council, and there are no scribes, secretaries, oppas, or anything else. The va'u is usually almost equivalent to the gelarang. But this is not always true. Thus va'u Veol covers both Ndung and Veol. And some branches of va'u Veol are in other areas, while, for example, a branch of Tjepang is in the Veol gelarang.

Dalu: dalu, dalu wakil, secretary, oppas, mandur, and the gelarang below. There is no council.

634 State: radja (the radja bitjara post is now empty since the former one died), secretary, oppas, mandur, and the office force. Again there is no council and no ministry. However, there is a Hakim Adat of Manggarai. The chairman used to be the radja bitjara, but now he is the radja's younger brother. The members, chosen by the radja, are four in number. At present they are Kraeng Dalu Ruteng, Gelarang Pau (the assistant's father), Gelarang Tenda, and a man of the Ruteng kraeng family.

692 Adat cases may be settled on the kampong, gelarang, or dalu level; or they may go up to the Hakim Adat.

648 The Dutch removed the death punishment,
681 double repayment in cases of theft, lampang and
634

We

648 other types of slaves, and a few other things.
634 They also put in the radja. Otherwise they did
[681] not make much change in the traditional administration. Bima was out, and this may be why there is not so much feeling against the Dutch here.

565 As far as nobility is concerned, there are
789 the radja, dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, but
756 they have no magic power. The kraeng says, however, that Todo and Pongkor sengadji used to have magic power (another sign of Makassar or Bima influence?). The mbako has magic power. The more I hear, the more I see that the mbako is really an important man.

622 The succession of radjas goes from eldest son
624 to eldest son or brother. The same holds for
632 the dalu, gelarang, tuan tanah, and tuan panga.
634 However, the dalu wakil is chosen by the dalu, always from his family, I suppose. The kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu after sounding out the feelings of the kampong. Many of these are commoners. Some are also tuan tanah. The tuan mbaru is merely the old man of the house with influence. He is usually the oldest. This position is non-hereditary and is evidently a matter of age.

Thus we see that all of these are hereditary, with the only exceptions those of the new kepala kampong and the unimportant tuan mbaru and the obvious dalu wakil.

666 A recent innovation has been the election
646 of members of the Flores daerah parliament,
635 the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Flores.

There are five members from Manggarai, elected at large, but by electoral districts. There are five districts named according to the place where the electors meet:

(1) Ruteng (South Central Manggarai)
(2) Rekas (West Manggarai)
(3) Tjantjar (Central Manggarai)

We
805 held some time after the planting is done. I think this is it. He says that in other parts of Manggarai they may have twelve moons. The European calendar is seldom used and only by those who have gone to school.

793 The only priests here are the tuan tanah.
● 622 The tuan tanah of the pusat kampong is the most
614 important. Cornelius[1] agreed that he was like a bishop. The other tuan tanah of the branch kampongs are like parish priests. The tuan panga have certain roles in panga rites. Below the kampong and the panga there are only small rites.

756 Cornelius[1] says that the mbako went secret even before the Dutch came in. He says he doesn't really know why the people keep the mbako identities so secret. Or perhaps he simply will not tell me. He keeps on saying it is because "they do not want to show any pride." Maybe this means that they do not want to appear to "brag" about their special power, or perhaps it is the idea that if they talk about it they may lose it. They are certainly sensitive on this matter. Van Bekkum[2] says that in all the years he has been in Manggarai he has never found out who a single mbako is. This is amazing. There are no dukun apart from the mbako. In a kampong Cornelius says there are usually from one to three mbako.

[754] There are no suwanggi here.

Cornelius[1] says that even though all the people turn Catholic, they must still have a mbako, in the sense of a dukun.

A new point is that in addition to the troubles of the mbako with the police (maybe because of poison? or is it mere suspicion of magic murder?) they have also gotten into trouble with the hospital because of their "practice" of medicine.

771 In terms of religion, the people here are

[1] i.e. the assistant -- Analyst]
[2] [pastor at Ruteng -- Analyst]

War

634 646 They said no, but that there was much free talk against the radjas in the parliament now!

622 646 624 888 All hereditary posts are genealogically linked. Most of the kepala kampong are still old illiterates. Parliament members are mainly middle aged people (the oldest literates, therefore). Age is of no concern for the hereditary posts, as one person merely succeeds to the post after another. In the kampong, however, the old men have the most influence, and the young people keep their mouths shut for the most part.

[562] Women may not hold hereditary posts. Until now women took no part in elections, but they may change things here.

829 666 There is still only a very restricted political horizon here, and there is little knowledge about such things. But at least they have elections. This is very important. They start with an election. As they say in Celebes, they catch on fast. Veol is the center of the [614] gelarang, and Rahong is the center of the dalu, [632] and Ruteng is the center of Manggarai. They think nothing about the "place" of Manggarai in Flores; the radja is just a "big man." Beyond this they know practically nothing about the daerah, negara, etc.

648 Most of the people here thought the Dutch were all right and they were too uninformed to criticize them. Also, it must be remembered that they had been under the rule of Bima, and the Dutch at least drove Bima out. They did not even criticize the Japanese! They were simply not concerned. The great memory here is of Bima and slavery. They hate Bima.

609 Except for the pastors, everyone here knows of things and people who are Dutch only by name. Formerly they knew the local civil servants only slightly. They were always afraid of any new men who came here. This is true of my

IEBC F 12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD1C Buru OH8
Enggano OD6 Ceram OH9
Flores OF9 Gayo-A 36 007
Redjang-Lampung. OD12

2. *Localized clans.*—The complex of localized sub-clans seems to occur in the interior of many of the smaller islands (*e.g.*, Enggano, Buru, Ceram and Flores).[16] Along the coasts, however, mixed villages have grown up consisting of over-seas aliens and emigrant family groups from the interior. In moving toward the coast, kinship groups keep their independence. Even though they live together with the family groups of other clans in villages under a village chief (korano), they occupy their own exclusive land. The village chief, however, has but little authority over those who are not his fellow-clansmen.

3. *Regional communities of mixed clans.*—Mutually unrelated sub-clans, which make up a territorial community are reported, in the first place, among the Minangkabau. Matrilineal clan members not living in the same "nagari" do not form an autonomous community. The communities are, firstly, the family group (sub-clan) inside the village. These family groups are parts of the same portions of different clans. Those that are of the same clan have become independent by fission; secondly, some (not all) unions of such parts of family groups belonging to unrelated clans; thirdly, the "nagari" formed of sub-clans consisting of family groups, organized or not into units. Minangkabau clans, like the Gayo and the Pubian and many others, have their own names.

It is impossible to find a description of the Minangkabau which does not begin with the warning, "Do not generalize." In consequence, to an even greater degree than in other regions, only main outlines can be presented. If their social organization is to be formulated through a reconstruction of its development from the basic units on up, it is necessary to begin with a given number of clans. At a given instant, women of different clans (along with brothers and their brothers' wives) settle on either unowned land or desert land in the area of disposal of some territorial community. Gradually, the joint families grow in size, and so also the settlement.

The process is as follows. Family groups spring up from the women who are looked upon as the first mothers of the settlement. Subdivisions of clans group themselves as indivisible autonomous communities around the family property (lands, the residence, heirlooms, the family title of the head of the family). The family group (sa buah paruiq) should be imagined as originally located in a family house of its own, with the oldest man of the senior genera-

[16] In the recently explored interior of Dutch New Guinea, localized clans have also been discovered.